5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

from the missionaries and other observers who had contact with the Indians between 1650 and 1700, when the Lesser Antilles were first being settled. Bouton (1640), Breton (1877, 1892), Labat (1724, 1931), La Borde (1704, 1886), Du Puis (1652), and Dutertre (1667–71; copied in Rochefort, 1665, and Davies, 1666) are the principal primary sources. These have been compiled by Ballet (1875), Harris (1904), Sheldon (1820), Cornilliac (1875), Edwards (1818–19), Featherman (1881–91), Jefferys (1760), Joyce (1916), and Ober (1895), in the last six cases in conjunction with comparable compilations of *Arawak* ethnography. Delawarde (1938), Ober (1880), and D. Taylor (1935, 1936, 1938) have provided information concerning the modern descendants of the *Carib* in the West Indies, while Conzemius (1928) and Sapper (1897 b) have described the *Black Carib* of Central America.

Although the number of *Carib* sources and compilations is smaller than for the *Arawak*, each source, being more or less ethnographic in nature, contains relatively more information, and our knowledge of *Carib* culture is therefore comparable to that of *Arawak* culture. Many of the missionaries failed to distinguish between islands, and as a result the following account will deal with the *Carib* as a whole. The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700, when the *Carib* were concentrated on Dominica, Martinique, and St. Vincent.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The *Carib* had a strong national consciousness. To distinguish themselves from the *Arawak* they used the term *Calinago* or *Calino*, which was corrupted by Columbus to *Caribales*, and later to *Carib*. From it comes our word "cannibal." The inhabitants of each island had a special name, which was formed by adding a suffix to the name of the island. Dominica, for example, was called Oüaitoucoubouli, and its inhabitants had the name *Oüaitoucoubouliri*.

Carib men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*. When speaking together both sexes used the men's language. The old men also had some words not found in the ordinary men's language. These were developed in the war councils.

No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered. By 1700, it is said that the number of those Indians had fallen to 4,000, half of them on Dominica and the rest on St. Vincent. The *Carib* were more robust than the *Arawak*. They had well-developed, flexible bodies and broad buttocks and shoulders. Their height was medium, the skin olive-colored, and the hair and eyes black. When at ease they tended to be melancholy; when aroused they became truculent and vindictive.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

the reserve. The upshot of this episode was the discontinuance of the office of chief. The following gleanings, gathered during my often hasty visits to the reserve, half a century after those of Ober, represent fairly well what remains of the Carib language and culture.

Descriptive and Physical

The present Carib Reserve extends along some 8 miles of rugged, irregular coastline in the middle of Dominica's windward side. A series of rocky streams flow from the hills and enter the sea by way of deep wooded ravines and small inlets 2 to 3 miles apart. After a few hours' tropical downpour, they "come down," to use a local expression, changing for the time being into roaring and impassable torrents. Between, rounded shoulders or spurs rise 200 or 300 feet above the shore, and run back up to a central mountain ridge some 3 miles distant from and 2,000 feet above the Atlantic. From here, the land falls sharply in woodland and provision grounds to the valley of the Pegoua River, which forms the inland or western boundary of the reserve (fig. 11).

In all, there may be upward of 3,000 acres, but not more than a tenth of this is capable of any sort of cultivation, by far the greater part being nothing but rock and tuff. A good wide bridle path of red clay, extremely slippery in wet weather, winds in and out near the coast, up and down the steep sides of the intervening spurs. The Caribs' dwellings, though usually well hidden by trees and shrub, are seldom far away from this road. There are but two settlements: one, Bataka, being 15 minutes' climb from Kuària (or Big River), the northern boundary; the other, St. Cyr, adjoining the road high above the Salybia River. Elsewhere their dwellings are scattered along the hillsides or in the ravines, wherever their owners' fancy or convenience has placed them, some close together, others more than half a mile from their neighbor.

Disease, malnutrition, and miscegenation—results of the American Indian's unfortunate but very real inadaptability to social and economic conditions other than his own—have reduced the tribe to about 400 souls, of whom less than a quarter are entirely free from negro blood.

Physically, the Caribs of Dominica (the product of a cross between the fierce Carib invader and the docile Arawak Islander in pre-Columbian days) are a small though sturdy people, the men averaging around 5 feet 3 inches and the women about 5 feet. I have seen a few decided dolichocephals, even among the purer types, though the latter are usually subbrachycephalic (especially the women), with an index of between 79 and 81. They have straight black hair of coarse texture, which acquires in some a reddish tint through exposure to the sun's rays. Their foreheads are high and broad, their cheekbones

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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In the Island of St. John are some rocks covered with 172
incised figures, which are called the "Carib rocks,"—rude petroglyphs without meaning; but undoubtedly of aboriginal origin. Throughout the Greater Antilles, I cannot recall any of these petroglyphs, and they seem to be peculiar to the Carib area, other and finer ones being found in the island of St. Vincent. The descendants of the Caribs 131
to-day are confined to two islands only, Dominica (which was the first land sighted by Columbus on his second voyage) and St. Vincent, the former between latitude fifteen and sixteen north, and the latter in latitude thirteen. They 161
are described in my book on these islands,[1] published fifteen years ago, and I will not repeat my descriptions, except to state that there are some twenty families of pure blood remaining in Dominica, and perhaps half a dozen in St. Vincent. There may be three hundred in each island, but so intimately mixed with the negroes that their distinguishing features are nearly obliterated. They dwell on the 361
windward or eastern coast of either island, in each having [325]
a portion of land assigned them, which they cultivate in common, or which, at least, is not owned in severalty. They subsist upon the fruits of their agricultural labors and 224
the sea, eked out with the scant products of the chase, consisting mainly of small birds, agoutis, and iguanas. Their 342
huts are almost as primitive as at the time of discovery, being constructed of palm logs and thatched with palm leaves. In Dominica most of them speak the French patois 197
(a legacy from the former owners of the island), and in St. Vincent, English; being Catholics in the former and [771]
Church of England in the latter, as to their religious faith. All vestiges of their native religion have apparently disappeared, although they still have a belief in the jumbies and wood-spirits of the negroes. They are to-day gentle and 157
easily managed, showing no trace of the warlike spirit of their ancestors; in shape they are robust, well-formed, with

[1] See "Camps in the Caribbees," by F. A. Ober. Boston, 1879.

THE CARIBS OF THE ANTILLES

Their Present-Day Representatives on the island of Dominica

122 /127/ In the course of a recent voyage to the Antilles, on board the yacht Resolute, I had the good fortune to meet a few survivors of the Indians who inhabited part of these islands at the time of the arrival of Europeans in the New World. /These were/ the Caribs, (1)

1. One says either Caraibe or Carib.

[16] of whom a hundred of pure stock still exist, relegated to a corner of [31] Dominica. I must first of all thank M. Pierre Lebaudy for the alacrity with which he agreed to undertake the expedition which permitted us to reach the Carib territory. In addition, we found an invaluable aid in the person of the Governor of the island and a most sympathetic reception on the part of the English colony, particularly the engineer Mr. Noble, who procured horses and porters for us, and carried his kindness so far as to accompany us on our trip and serve as our guide.

Before summing up the observations I was able to make in the course of the trip, I believe it would perhaps be useful to recall in a few words who the Caribs of the Antilles were and what is known of their origin and their migrations.

101 When Christopher Columbus discovered the Lesser Antilles, he found them inhabited by Carib Indians, intrepid sailors, adept fishermen, proud, admitting no domination and justly feared by their [24] neighbors, since they had the reputation of devouring their enemies after having killed them. (2) This population made a striking con-

2. It would be from the word canibi, one of the names given the Caribs, that the term "cannibul" comes.

trast then with the peaceful Indian peoples who inhabited the large islands and who were /128/ Arawaks, or more exactly Tainos, the latter term having been reserved for the Arawaks who had emigrated to the Antilles. Indeed, the Arawaks according to present ethnographic data, were not the first inhabitants of these islands; they had supplanted there a more ancient race, about whom we have no information as yet. The Arawaks, who probably came from /130/ South

000 mountains surround narrow ravines, where spring water trickles. The
137 country is almost entirely wooded; it is virgin forest in all its vigor, and the most varied species grow there side by side; the imposing silk-cotton tree, Eriodendron anfractuosum, the large-leaved chestnut tree, Sloanea massoni, the logwood tree, Haematoxylon campecheanum, the mahogany tree, Swietenia mahogany, the anatta-tree, Bixa orellana mingle with palms of all sorts, gigantic bamboos and a multitude of arborescent ferns. All these trees are interlaced with endless lianas, and in their midst, giant like, rise splendid gum-trees, Dacryodes hexandra, from whose trunks one can cut an entire canoe.
491 The district is crossed, at some distance from the coast, by a road which is well-defined but not practicable for carriages, which is part of the road which makes a complete circuit of the island. In the part which crosses the Carib territory, one /135/ finds a few paved sections,
132 which date from the French occupation. The climate is humid and it rains frequently, even during the dry season. The temperature varies between 25° and 32° C., but the ocean breeze moderates the heat at all times and in the mountains there is always a certain freshness.

144 This part of Dominica is today inhabited by about a hundred
● 161 Caribs of pure stock and about 400 mestizos, who have some black blood.

142 The Carib is of medium height, but has fine muscles and is strong; the women are noticeably smaller than the men. Their eyes are black, comparatively small and somewhat set back, the cheek-bones prominent, the teeth white and well-set, the hair black, straight,
[302] shiny, quite long, but generally cut amongst the men; the latter are usually beardless, although some have, nevertheless, a short moustache. The skin is quite light or tends to be somewhat brown, but it is no darker than that of Europeans who live in the open in regions
291 where the sun is very hot. Formerly the Caribs were completely
302 naked and it was their custom to completely stain their bodies red
[75] with roucou (1) diluted /136/ with carapat oil, which protected them against insect bites,

[824 386]

1. Roucou or rocou, from the word urucu used by the natives of Brazil, is the word for the grains of the roucou tree, from which they extract a red dye. The roucou tree, a shrub of 4 to 5 meters in height, is very common in the Antilles.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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582 [161] Today, the Dominica Caribs' sexual selection is limited not only by the smallness of their community (about 400 including half-breeds: men, women, and children), but by a growing disapproval of marriage between close cousins, expressed in the usual way, by ridicule. Nevertheless, unions of a more or less permanent nature between first cousins, half and even full siblings, and of mother and daughter with the same man, have occurred and been tolerated within recent times. There appears to subsist the feeling, moreover, that cross-cousins are "less family" than parallel-cousins; and one old woman expounded to me the widespread belief in the genetic inheritance of father's "spirit" and mother's "blood." Sister exchange is not infrequent, while marriage of two brothers to two sisters is extraordinarily common. I know of at least two cases in which a man has children with his wife's unmarried sister; and I should estimate that polygyny (extra-legal, of course) in general is as frequent today as it ever was, being confined, as is natural, to better-than-average bread-winning males.

883 [579] [517] 533 Once school is left behind (12 to 15 years of age), opportunities for anything but furtive meetings between the sexes are rare. The young men spend their days at sea, or working in the high-woods, while the girls, together with their mothers, work around the house, or plant, weed, and reap in provision-gardens scattered far and wide. Neighborly visiting is not common—partly because of petty inter-family feuds, and partly because local standards of hospitality require an exchange of presents between visitor and hostess every time a call is made. The monthly church mass at Salybia, occasional wakes and dances, and the young men's "serenade" on fine moonlit nights are about the only relaxations known. The latter is the name given to promenading bands who make the round of neighboring houses to the accompaniment of Basque tambourines and flutes.

584 [522] Should a young man call at the home of a prospective sweetheart (or of one whose relationship with him was unknown to her parents), he would not mention her, nor would she appear unless called in from the kitchen or back room by her mother or father. Should his visit coincide with a mealtime (at which even strangers present in the yard are always asked to participate), it would be a sure indication that his suit was acceptable, if the girl herself were sent to serve him food and drink. But in no case would either display any affection before others, although clumsy and to us coarse sexual jokes might not be out of place. No tasks are required of a girl's suitor today, though the old people say that former custom required him to limit his attentions to a bi-monthly visit for some time; and that it was his duty to sweep the yard before his sweetheart's house before leaving after these occasions.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

the Spanish loan-words employed by the Carib of Breton's day show, they had already become familiar with iron, nails, wire, etc.

Rouse derives Columbus' "caribales" from "the term *Calinago* or *Calino*."[19] Breton gives: Callinago (Breton's *ll* probably approaches an apical *r*; while omission of the collective suffix, -go, would give Callina) as the men's, Calliponam [kariponã] as the women's name for their tribe or nation. The form "caribales" is more likely to have come from the latter than from the former term.

"*Carib* men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*."[20] The persistence of such differences among the modern Black Carib of Central America (as also, by all accounts, among the last native speakers in Dominica and in St Vincent), would be hard to explain on similar grounds. Rouse seems to be unaware of the fact that, by Breton's time at least, the Cariban dialect of the Igneri's former conquerors had been reduced, in the speech of the Lesser Antilles, to much the same part as had Norman French, by Chaucer's day, in that of post-Conquest England. Therefore, although the Dominica Carib told Breton that they and the Guiana Galibi were of the same descent, their language was already basically different: "Le langage de nos Caraïbes est différent de celui des Gallibys de terre ferme"; and "Diversa utrinque lingua, licet illi ab his descendisse in Insulas dicant."[21]

"No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered."[22] Nevertheless, the 1647 *Relation* speaks of the Caribs being "quite four or five thousand" in Dominica, and "sans nombre" in St Vincent; and elsewhere comments:

> It perhaps be asked why there are so few of them, especially in view of the multitude of their women. They tell you that it is on account of the Christians; for, as one of them told Father Raymond, the Spaniards twice massacred all the Savages of the island of St. Christopher; and once those of Guadeloupe, of whom there escaped only one woman and her children who ran away to the mountains, and, so they say, bred there. They tried to do the same in Dominica, and managed to kill quite half of those there. Since then they have been decimated by small-pox, which they call variola, and of which some died raving, being still ignorant of any cure for this disease. Moreover, everybody captures and carries off or kills them: Flemmings, English, Spaniards, and their Allouagues, who are their enemies.[23]

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19 *Handbook*, p. 549.
20 *Ibid.*
21 Armand de la Poix, p. 49; Breton (?), p. 132: both in Rennard.
22 *Handbook*, p. 549.
23 Armand de la Poix, pp. 112 and 48.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

Later estimates are, for St Vincent: Philip Warner's "3000 Negroes and no other island as many Indians," and Stapleton's "1500 [warriors], 600 of these bowmen are Negroes," both taken from the Calendar of State Papers for the year 1676.[24] These figures may be compared with la Borde's estimated 4000 in 1700 for the two islands of Dominica and St Vincent together, i.e., after two attempts by the British under Stapleton in 1683 to exterminate the Caribs in both islands.

"The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab. . . . They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin, a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab. . . . For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coui, which was made by boiling the juice of manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour."[25] As the Carib word for food does not include fish, meat, or game, which may be called by a term meaning *food adjuncts*, crab—fond of it as the Caribs were and still are—cannot properly be called their staple food, which was and is cassava, a bread or bannock made from manioc meal. Incidentally, the manioc shrub is propagated by cuttings of two or three feet long taken from the stem of an old plant, and not, as Rouse would have it in speaking of the Arawak, from the root.[26] The Carib may have taken to citrus fruits before 1700, but neither the sauce which the modern Carib call [tumálé] in Dominica and [dumári] in Central America, nor that known to Breton as "tóma *sauce*, nitomáliem *ma sauce*," calls for the employment of lime juice as an ingredient. Breton says "it is so called because the women usually make it with tomali of crab, which is oily"; and he refers us to "cariouani *poivré*," where we find:

> They put into a little earthen pot together with mouchache [that is, manioc starch], forty or fifty peppers [*Capsicum frutescens*] as big as the thumb, fish-scales, fish-bones, or the bones of agouti which they have gnawed, boil the lot in manioc-water (which is poisonous), and that is the sauce in which they dip their cassava (when they have nothing else). . . .[27]

The name of this sauce has been incorporated into the English language as "tomar'll(e)y, n. Soft greenish substance (called the liver) in lobster, used as sauce. (Carib)." (Concise Oxford Dictionary). Such sauce would naturally be served in the receptacle still known in the West Indies as a coui [kuí], and made from the half of a calabash (cujete)[27a] cut in two lengthwise. Although this is one

24 *Calendar of State Papers*, 1675-1676, no. 861, and p. 499.
25 *Handbook*, p. 550.
26 *Handbook*, p. 522.
27 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïb-Français*, p. 109.
27a *Crescentia cujete*.